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### *Competing Girlhoods: Competition, Community, and Reader Contribution in the Girl's Own Paper and the Girl's Realm*

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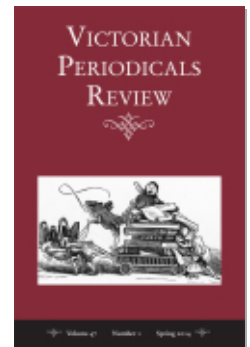
## **Competing Girlhoods: Competition, Community, and Reader Contribution in The Girl's Own Paper and The Girl's Realm**

Beth Rodgers

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# Competing Girlhoods: Competition, Community, and Reader Contribution in *The Girl's Own Paper* and *The Girl's Realm*

BETH RODGERS

Sally Mitchell has identified the years 1880–1915 as a key period in the development of a distinctive “girls’ culture.” In *The New Girl* (1995), her landmark study of print culture ranging from novels to diaries, Mitchell notes that although the “dream/ideal of girlhood in its archetypal form” likely existed for very few historical girls, it was nevertheless a “cultural reality.”<sup>1</sup> For Margaret Beetham, the separation of girls and women as distinct readerships “was characteristic of the New Journalism with its ever more diversified target groups.”<sup>2</sup> Both Mitchell and Beetham point out the potential diversification within the term “girl” itself, a word that grew in currency during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Sidestepping the “class referents” associated with a term such as “young lady,” Mitchell suggests that “girl” was used inclusively to describe the “workgirl, servant girl, factory girl, college girl or girl graduate, shop-girl, bachelor girl, girl journalist, and office girl.”<sup>3</sup> This sense of inclusivity is borne out in the new magazines for girls in this period, which make frequent reference to “our girls” and promote community amongst readers as a key signifier of the modernity of the girlhood they espouse. I interrogate how this idealised, inclusive community of girl readers is constructed and addressed by two late Victorian girls’ periodicals: the *Girl's Own Paper* (1880–1956), a weekly one-penny magazine, and the *Girl's Realm* (1898–1915), a sixpenny monthly magazine. Looking at a number of competitions, correspondence pages, and other forms of interaction between reader and magazine, I explore the extent to which these publications successfully forge a coherent textual identity—an identity that attempts to reconcile competing definitions of girlhood and accommodate a readership

frequently diverse in class, nationality, and age—through an emphasis on community amongst readers.

At the same time, the multiplicity of readers addressed by the simple word “girl” creates a number of fractures within the magazine which are not always entirely resolved. Though the *Girl's Own Paper* superficially appealed and marketed itself to readers across classes, it more frequently struggled to accommodate the needs of all readers. As Terri Doughty has pointed out, “There are more articles on managing servants than on being a servant.”<sup>4</sup> Articles in the *Girl's Realm* also attempt to gloss over the potential social gulf between readers, not always convincingly. In “All Sorts and Conditions of Girlhood” (1899), for example, Marian Leslie shrewdly presents the “daughter of the millionaire, preparing herself to lead the brilliant, many-sided life of the wealthy,” and the “wage-earning girl beginning in her teens the struggle with life” as united in sisterhood: “However wide the differences in their circumstances,” she reports, “the spirit that animates them all is the same courageous, joy-snatching spirit of girlhood.”<sup>5</sup> But Leslie's insistence on the universal nature of this “spirit of girlhood” is tested in other areas of the magazine. In addition to interrogating the ways in which magazines attempted to construct a sense of community amongst their readers, this article also offers evidence to suggest historical readers spotted these inconsistencies and marked their resistance to certain inclusive definitions of girlhood in their contributions to the magazines. Such moments, in which the historical reader's voice interrupts the narrative agenda of the magazine in question, remind us of the illusory nature of a periodical's idealised readership.

Launched at different points during the late nineteenth-century boom in publications for the juvenile and teenaged markets, the *Girl's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Realm* are not necessarily identical in their tone, despite targeting a similar readership. Although the editor of the *Girl's Own Paper*, Charles Peters, made reference to the magazine's role as a “playmate” and “friend” to the reader, his inaugural “Editor's Prospectus” in January 1880 primarily pitched the magazine as being concerned with moral instruction and Victorian ideals of the feminine. “It will help to train [girls],” Peters proclaims, “in moral and domestic virtues, preparing them for the responsibilities of womanhood and for a heavenly home.”<sup>6</sup> It is telling that Edward Salmon's influential “What Girls Read” article, published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1886, recommends the “perfectly healthy” *Girl's Own Paper* but expresses scepticism about other new periodicals for girls that “[lapse] into the penny dreadful, composed of impossible love stories, of jealousies, murders and suicides.”<sup>7</sup> For Salmon, the *Girl's Own Paper* stood apart from other writing for girls in its promotion of traditional Victorian feminine values. In contrast, the *Girl's Realm*, launched in 1898, differed from earlier magazines, similarly targeting middle-class girls in

its self-conscious modernity.<sup>8</sup> In a more strident manner than its predecessors—the *Girl's Own Paper*, *Atalanta* (1887–98, a sixpenny monthly), and the *Young Woman* (1892–1915, a three-penny monthly)—the *Girl's Realm* promoted education, modern pastimes such as photography, and physical activity for girls. It consistently encouraged its readers to think beyond the confines of domesticity with regular features on girls' schools and sport and practical tips for modern hobbies. It even looks distinctly different from previous publications: unlike the text-heavy *Atalanta*, for example, the *Girl's Realm* is replete with photographs of real girls, such as school hockey teams, girls in tableaux recreating Tennyson's *The Princess* (1847), and illustrations of physical exercises.

Despite this difference in tone, the *Girl's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Realm* shared crucial common ground: both were distinctly commercial magazines that targeted a broadly middle-class readership. Though they expressed a commitment to the moral guidance of readers, their greatest motivation was the formation of a dedicated readership amidst an increasingly crowded literary marketplace.<sup>9</sup> Key to their success was an emphasis on community amongst girls, which would be attainable by all readers through purchase of the magazine; indeed, modern girlhood was often specifically defined within these magazines in terms of communal peer identity. Manifesto-style articles in the *Girl's Realm* attest to the importance of community and the attempt to accommodate all readers. Introducing her 1899 “What Girls Are Doing” column, Maud Rawson stresses her desire to “promote among girls of all classes and degrees that consciousness of international social sisterhood which is at the basis of this journal.”<sup>10</sup> We might ask to what extent such high-minded ideals about communal, “international social sisterhood” can withstand the pressure to adhere to dominant cultural narratives. In her study of periodicals, Margaret Beetham has called attention to the “radical heterogeneity” of the multi-authored magazine.<sup>11</sup> With this in mind, I will demonstrate how these magazines can be both welcoming and excluding. I will also examine what kind of girlhood, amid the multiplicities, is celebrated as ideal for those called upon to count themselves as “our girls.”

### Competition and Community

My discussion will begin with two high-profile competitions, both of which directly call upon readers to contribute to the content and overall tone of the magazine. Readers are asked to become judges of female heroism and, by consequence, determine the prevailing conception of womanhood within each magazine. In January 1887, in honour of the Queen's Golden Jubilee, the *Girl's Own Paper* launched “The Queen's Jubilee Prize Competition: Notable Women of the Reign of Queen Victoria,” with the

following instructions: "Of these, each competitor will make out a list for herself, and regarding those whom she selects, she will be required to state, briefly and clearly, who they were, when and where they were born, and when and where they died—if they be dead—and to give such particulars about what they have done as will prove their right to the title of notable women."<sup>12</sup> Although it is noted that the "most important thing is quality, not quantity," readers are invited to compile a list of as many notable women as they can manage.<sup>13</sup> The terms of the competition which follow these initial instructions reveal a great deal about the implied readership of the *Girl's Own Paper*. The pronouncement that there will be eleven prizes given "to the most successful competitor of every age from thirteen to twenty-three, inclusive," indicates the wide age range of the implied readers of the magazine (although, of course, there may also be both younger and older actual readers, and indeed one thirty-three-year-old reader enters the competition).<sup>14</sup> The instructions go on to advise readers that each top prize will consist of a "gold medal-brooch" that will have a "pin at the back for more convenient use" and will "bear the design . . . of the heading to every weekly number of this magazine."<sup>15</sup> By stressing the convenience and wearability of the prize brooch and its specially commissioned design, the competition guidelines imply that readers will be granted access to a communal peer identity via participation in the construction of a canon of aspirational heroines. Images of aspiration are deeply intertwined with both the formation of a reading community within the magazine and the construction of modern girlhood.

It is tempting to assume, then, that this competition represents a progressive, interactive engagement with readers in which the image of Queen Victoria is used to encourage discussion of female achievement and accomplishment. Yet the competition is not without ideological complexities. Arguably, the image of the Queen is also used to justify problematic assumptions and evasions about nationality. The competition, it is announced, will for the first time in the history of the *Girl's Own Paper* be open to "Foreign and Colonial Competitors of All Ages" in recognition of the "painstaking efforts of many readers in distant places."<sup>16</sup> One special prize brooch will even be set aside for one of these colonial competitors. However, despite this initial encouragement to readers from beyond metropolitan Britain, one of the rules states, "The Notable Women Dealt With must all be British subjects: foreigners will not count. It is not necessary that they should have been born after Queen Victoria came to the throne. All may be included who have lived *any part of their lives* in the reign of Her Majesty."<sup>17</sup> The implication seems to be that heroism is nationally contingent: foreign women are not notable by virtue of their foreignness. A follow-up article published in the July 1887 issue reports that of the 920 entries received, 112 were from "colonial and foreign competitors."<sup>18</sup>

None of these 112 contestants was awarded a prize gold brooch, apart from the one which was specifically set aside. "Foreign girls" are thus depicted as inhabiting a space both physically and intellectually removed from the "girls at home."<sup>19</sup> They are figures to be singled out for special recognition, given that they reportedly "labour, as a rule, under considerable disadvantages compared to the majority of the girls who stay at home."<sup>20</sup> Yet their presumed inferiority is re-inscribed by this special prize and by the complete exclusion of "foreign women" as notable figures or suitable subjects of biography.

In addition, it is unclear what is meant by the terms "colonial" and "foreign" in these articles. The terms appear to be interchangeable when describing the readers who may enter the competition, but the rule against the inclusion of "foreign notable women" in the biographies constructs the phrases "British subjects" and "foreign" as binary terms. Looking at the list of those readers who were awarded certificates of merit, there are competitors mentioned from a range of locations: Australia, Japan, Dominica, France, and New Zealand, among others. It could of course be the case that many of these readers would indeed have identified themselves as British. After all, many girls writing from Japan and New Zealand may very well have been governesses working abroad or the daughters of British diplomats and naval officers. I would argue, however, that the most notable thing about this competition is this very lack of clarity in the language employed by the guidelines. Who among these competitors is regarded as truly British, foreign, or colonial? What are the differences between "British" and "colonial" and between "foreign" and "colonial"? Do these classifications apply in different ways to the competitors and to the "notable women" they may or may not write about? *The Girl's Own Paper* seems to skirt over these unresolved, unexplained differences, instead continuing with this problematic promotion of the apparently universally admirable heroine inspiring the apparently universal modern girl. This lack of clarity conflicts with the purported desire to expand the competition to "foreign and colonial girls," girls who are encouraged to enter the competition but discouraged from nominating women like themselves as inspirational role models.

My reading of this aspect of the jubilee competition is supported by the presence of other articles in the *Girl's Own Paper* that valorise Britishness or Englishness, despite claims to universality. Indeed, the competition recalls an article that had appeared earlier that same year—Lily Watson's "On the Borderland"—which proclaims that it is a "very delightful thing, on the whole, to be an English girl."<sup>21</sup> Such comments cannot help but place hierarchical, national conditions upon what appear to be universal, inclusive definitions of girlhood, a hierarchy that is apparently at odds with the international readership of the magazine.

Although the *Girl's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Realm* often feature topics relevant to the lives of "colonial sisters," they offer little acknowledgment that readers may be reading such articles from a variety of subject positions. Australian girls, for example, form the topic of articles such as "A Daughter of Greater Britain—An Australian Girl" in the *Girl's Realm*, but correspondence pages, not to mention the presence of full runs of these publications in Australian libraries today, would suggest that they were also readers.<sup>22</sup> Yet articles depicting colonial life are invariably presented as beyond the experience or knowledge of readers. This dislocation conflicts with the magazine's construction of an international community of girls, but it perhaps reflects wider contemporary theories about empire.

The term "Greater Britain," referenced in the *Girl's Realm*, is also employed by John Seeley in his famous defence of empire, *The Expansion of England* (1883). Stressing the importance of national cohesion for future imperial success, Seeley called upon his fellow English citizens to count the population of Canada and Australia as part of Great Britain. Such a wide conception of Britishness might go some way to explaining the juxtaposition of narrative strategies that appear both to recognise and dismiss cultural boundaries between readers. However, although readers from a wide variety of countries might be called "British," in Seeley's sense of the word, the jubilee competition in the *Girl's Own Paper*, which directly excluded "foreign" notable women, indicated that this conflated "Greater British" identity was inherently contradictory.

The article reporting the competition results is unclear in other ways as well. It makes liberal use of terms such as "worth," "unworthy," and "value" in relation to the biographies but does not state how that worth is to be judged. Perhaps as a result of this lack of clarity, a number of competition entrants caused the editorial staff great consternation, as can be deduced from the following admonishment: "Some of the more industrious girls put in names that are thoroughly unworthy, and others finished their papers with a list of all the women they probably had ever heard of. This unnecessary work of course swells up the bulk of the MS. but adds very little to its worth."<sup>23</sup> The article says little about what qualities, activities, and figures readers actually believed to be notable. It gives a general summary of the sorts of famous writers, composers, and philanthropists who were popular choices but spends more time giving detail about the physical appearance of the submitted manuscripts. The article's author is full of admiration: "An immense amount of labour and loving care has been bestowed upon the work, and as in former competitions many of the papers have been 'garnished' with water colour sketches, drawings, inscriptions, quotations, portraits—with everything, in fact, that could increase the interest and add to the prettiness of the MS."<sup>24</sup> It is intriguing to speculate about what these "garnishes" might indicate about how competitors



viewed the contents of their manuscripts and the competition itself. We might view the effort and precision taken over these attractive documents as indicators of the enthusiasm felt by readers for heroines, biographies, and the Queen's Jubilee or perhaps as evidence of their enthusiasm for winning competitions and admiration. What these colourful manuscripts do definitively reveal, however, is an astute awareness amongst readers about how to create an appealing document. They have submitted manuscripts essentially in imitation of the magazines they read and enjoy.

The competition in the *Girl's Own Paper* appears to call upon readers to contribute content and participate in the textual voice of the magazine. Yet upon closer examination, it seems that the opinion of readers is not sought as much as it would appear to be. After all, though the manuscripts are physically described, no list of notable women is reproduced, even in part.<sup>25</sup> Rather, the article reporting the results renders the competition much more like an examination to be passed or failed, a test of whether readers have imbibed the correct information. Comments such as "we were glad to find that only some half-a-dozen girls omitted [Elizabeth Barrett Browning] from their lists," "every list of famous women of the Victorian era ought to include the eminent astronomers," and "Mary Lamb and Jane Carlyle, for instance, have not had nearly the recognition they deserve" suggest that there were, in fact, correct and incorrect answers in what initially appeared to be a fairly open and individual task.<sup>26</sup> This punitive aspect of the competition is made all the clearer by stern comments made to certain readers who failed to follow the careful instructions and are deemed to be "guilty either of impertinence or egregious folly."<sup>27</sup> Such comments suggest that this competition, although tantalising readers with both symbolic and literal membership in a reading community, represents less a collaborative effort between reader and magazine than a hierarchical relationship between editor and reader. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the heroines judged to be essential to "every list of famous women" are rather unexpected, including astronomers, scientists, and other pioneering women. Once again, the *Girl's Own Paper* demonstrates how girls' magazines frequently occupied an ambivalent position between instruction and entertainment as well as between adherence to traditional values and the promotion of certain aspects of advanced womanhood.

It is interesting to note how the terms of this competition are re-imagined in another contest appearing fourteen years later in the *Girl's Realm*. The continuing surge in the popularity of the girls' magazine in the intervening years is immediately evident. Almost three thousand girls entered "Our Voting Competition," a contest that was launched in the November 1901 issue of the magazine with the pronouncement "Every Girl Can Win a Prize in the Grand Competition."<sup>28</sup> As with the *Girl's Own Paper*, the competition called upon readers to consider their most prized heroine

or, as the magazine termed it, their “favourite character.”<sup>29</sup> After selecting their heroine, readers were then required to enlist other girls in this activity. A small coupon was published in the November 1901 issue alongside the guidelines. After recording their votes, readers were asked to cut out the coupon and mail it to the editor. Upon receipt of this coupon, the editor would then forward competitors twenty-five new coupons, with which they were to get friends and acquaintances to cast their vote for their own favourite character. The reader who could acquire the greatest number of coupons would win the competition and the rather impressive prize of a £22 bicycle, which competitors were welcome to “inspect” at the Swift Depot in Holborn, London, if they so wished.

Again, an exclusive prize is set aside for “our colonial girls,” but unlike the *Girl's Own Paper*, the article documenting the results of this competition makes little reference to nationality or assumptions about Englishness.<sup>30</sup> The competition does echo its predecessor in one very important way, however. The guidelines state that the “Editor of *Girl's Realm* wants to know who are the women who are the most loved and admired by girls.”<sup>31</sup> But instead of nominating their own favourite heroines, readers must select from a list that has been prepared in advance by the editor. Fourteen women are listed, who are judged to be “representative, as far as may be, of feminine devotion, heroism, talent, and leadership,” including Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale, Grace Darling, and Frances Mary Buss.<sup>32</sup> In choosing a number of possible heroines from the field of education and philanthropy, editor Alice Corkran consolidates the ideals associated with modern girlhood that she also promotes in her regular “Chat with the Girl of the Period” columns. As with the *Girl's Own Paper's* jubilee competition, however, it seems that the compilation of an authoritative list of “favourite characters” is not actually the ultimate point of the exercise. Rather, the underlying purpose and effect of this competition is to construct a successful reading community of girls and to recruit actual readers in the construction of that community. It is not the voting of the heroine that is important but the gathering of the votes of other girls, who may in turn become new readers of the magazine.

Unsurprisingly, Florence Nightingale—a ubiquitous presence in girls' magazines of the period—definitively tops the poll with almost twice as many votes as the runner up, Grace Darling, yet the article quickly passes over these results. Instead, it focuses upon the “spirit and temper in which the great majority of competitors entered the contest.”<sup>33</sup> This “spirit,” it appears, is one of camaraderie and esprit de corps amongst girls. One competitor is reported not to mind whether she wins a prize or not, for the opportunity to contact old friends has been prize enough. In qualification of this sentiment, the article publishes a letter from the competition winner, A. Mary Field of Highgate, North London, which gives an account

of how she collected a remarkable 3,242 voting coupons. There are two striking things to note in the following extract from Field's letter: first, her description of conscripting gangs of schoolgirls, which recalls the projects undertaken in fictional school stories of the time, and second, the point at which Field's quest makes her into a heroine herself, a compelling moment of crossover in which the real-life reader is placed within the narrative of the magazine:

After persistently and remorselessly bothering all my friends and relations, some at school, some not, I was fortunate enough to obtain introductions to one or two Head Mistresses of girls' schools, who not only got me signatures from their own girls, but also asked other Head Mistresses to help me.

I found a good many girls were most anxious to vote for *me* instead of Joan of Arc!<sup>34</sup>

The message behind this article seems to be that a sense of community spirit and aspiration, both in terms of thinking about inspirational women and in endeavouring to win a competition, can bring readers together and make heroines of real girls. The number and quality of the rewards given to Mary and the other prize winners suggests that the magazine takes the subject of girls working together towards a shared goal seriously and promotes the idea that it is possible for readers to become real-life heroines amongst their peers. All girls who submit twenty-five voting coupons are promised a small silver charm, presumably similar to that of the *Girl's Own Paper*, but the magazine pledges yet more: "Although the number of prizes in this competition is unusually numerous (thirty-four), we have added nineteen consolation prizes, with the object that every girl who sent in over four hundred votes might receive a small memento of her industry."<sup>35</sup> The energy and enthusiasm of competitors is thus celebrated as significant and worthy of encouragement.

It is clear, however, why these rewards might be beneficial in broader commercial terms as well. The rules clearly state that "each application for the 25 coupons must be accompanied by a coupon from the magazine," thereby requiring readers to acquire multiple copies of the magazine.<sup>36</sup> But the commercial potential stretches much further than multiple purchases by existing readers. As much as the subject of the competition enacts Alice Corkran's dedication to promoting female role models within the magazine, the competition also represents an unprecedented level of word-of-mouth, reader-driven publicity. By making the gathering of girls' votes the prime focus of the competition, Corkran has in effect commissioned readers to promote the *Girl's Realm*, its ideals, and its interactive quality to as many other girls as they can possibly find, recruiting them as potential new consumers of the magazine. Considered in these terms, a £22 bicycle is not

quite as extravagant a prize as it first appears, given the potential revenue brought in by the competitors' great "industry."

The plan was obviously a huge success and the competition extremely popular: by the Christmas number of the magazine, the reprinted guidelines were now accompanied by two coupons to cut out and post to the editor, for which readers would now receive fifty coupons in return. The Christmas number's reproduction of the guidelines was also supplemented by another notable addition: an illustrated article about the competition that appears to function as an advertisement for both the actual prizes on offer and the feeling of community promised to readers if they chose to participate in the competition. Accompanied by illustrations of some of the prizes, the article depicts a fictional conversation between two girls, who discuss choosing their favourite heroine and visiting the prize bicycle in Holborn ("it's nice to be sure of seeing the prizes in flesh and blood as it were") and are generally jovially competitive with one another.<sup>37</sup> Describing her inability to decide upon a preferred prize, one of the girls comments, "In the meantime and for the next few weeks I shall let my imagination run away with me. I see myself dressed beautifully head to foot in *Girl's Realm* competition clothes, taking photographs with a *Girl's Realm* camera, playing at *Girl's Realm* ping-pong, until I make up by mind which prize I should like to have."<sup>38</sup> Such a comment rather pointedly references the appealing, glamorous items that may be the actual reward of winning this competition, but it also works more subtly to foster an image of modern girlhood coherent with the wider tone of the magazine, in which photography, fashion, and sport are all positively represented to readers. Girls may be deemed modern precisely because of their association with the *Girl's Realm*, and other girls will be able to recognise them as such because of this shared knowledge. Readers and editors share an investment in the creation of what we would today term the magazine's "brand identity." By entering a competition to win the designated hallmarks of the *Girl's Realm* girl, readers can feel that membership in this community of modern girls is within reach. For editors, the creation of this community can ensure that commercial aims are achieved.

Both these aspects of the appeal of the competition, to reader and magazine owner alike, are reflected by Harold McFarlane's unusual and very telling illustrations which accompany the article. One image places the names of the "favourite characters" down one side of the page in garlanded wreaths whose size reflects the popularity of each heroine. But in keeping with the tone of the article more generally, the illustrations focus on visually rendering the enthusiasm of the competitors themselves and, by consequence, the success of the magazine, rather than depicting the favourite characters in any detail. The diagrams visualise the bulk of the voting coupons received in various imaginative ways in order to emphasise the

unprecedented level of participation by girls.<sup>39</sup> One diagram juxtaposes an illustration of Cleopatra's Needle with a towering pile of documents, proclaiming, "If all the coupons sent in were bound in one volume of 300,000 pages, the volume would stand one hundred and twenty-five feet high, and would quite dwarf Cleopatra's Needle. This great volume would contain sufficient written matter to fill thirty-six volumes as long as an ordinary novel, and printed matter to fill two hundred and four volumes of similar length" (figure 1).<sup>40</sup> In a more abstract version of these claims, another diagram depicts a girl holding a fan, an image typical of the cover illustrations of the monthly editions of the magazine, towering over an illustration of Nelson's Column, with the accompanying explanatory caption: "If 'The Girl's Realm' Girl combined in herself the 300,000 coupon-writers, her appearance when she stepped off the cover of the magazine and, rapidly attaining the height of 350 feet, walked into Trafalgar Square, would be somewhat startling. The Nelson Column would fade into insignificance beside her. Her weight would be almost 13,000 tons" (figure 2).<sup>41</sup>

This second diagram in particular captures the spirit of the competition. Having successfully worked together and constructed a discernible community, girls have formed a communal identity of staggering strength and significance; in fact, they have literally merged to form one entity. Banded together, girls cannot fail to make an indelible impression on society around them. Heroines tower, quite literally in these illustrations, above man-made symbols of importance and valour and, by implication, above masculine examples of heroism. On the page, the diagrams themselves outshine the tables of votes and names of heroines, as if to emphasise the fact that the competition is much more concerned with the communal voice and identity created by the girls competing than with the heroic characters they are campaigning for. It suggests that the readers have successfully harnessed the lessons of the heroines who have inspired them.

Of course, these images also reference the magazine's success and its powerful role in creating these heroic, aspiring readers. Another diagram depicts a small map of greater London with the following celebratory caption: "Placed end to end 'The Girl's Realm' coupons would extend in a continuous ribbon from Norfolk Street, Strand, to Ascot—a distance of 23 2/3 miles."<sup>42</sup> In mentioning Norfolk Street, Strand—home to the *Girl's Realm* offices in 1901 and a number of other periodicals of the time, including W. T. Stead's *Review of Reviews*—the caption makes a deliberate reference to Fleet Street and contemporary periodical culture, thus hinting at the commercial success of the magazine. This diagram therefore harnesses the image of geography and distance to suggest the far-reaching, tangible presence of girls' voices in the publishing world and society at large. The extent to which such images of aspiration and heroism amongst readers might be exploited for the commercial benefit of the magazine is clear. Nevertheless,

Ivy Hill, 57, Lennard Road, Penge, S.E. ;  
 Florrie Scott, Ravenswood, Sbernhall Street,  
 Walthamstow ;  
 Linda Samuell, 43, Bassett Road, North  
 Kensington, W. ;  
 F. Piercey Jones, Burnside, Hoylake,  
 Cheshire ;  
 May Shephard, 69, Hillfield Road West  
 Hampstead ;  
 Audrey Dick Cunyngham, 62, Albert Gate  
 Mansions, S.W. ;  
 Bertha MacComas, Howard House, Kings-  
 town, Co. Dublin ;  
 Ione Schneider, 38, Stanhope Gardens, S.W. ;  
 Dorothy Wallace, Spa Hotel, Strathpeffer,  
 N.B. ;  
 Eleanor Watts-Jones, 24, Addington Road,  
 Bow, E. ;  
 Alice O'Neill, Shanes Castle, Co. Antrim,  
 Ireland.

We thought it would be interesting  
 to the other competitors to know how  
 the first prize winner, who must have  
 worked so hard, and have been  
 possessed of great resource, secured  
 the large number of votes which  
 entitle her to the bicycle. The  
 following is her reply to our note of  
 inquiry :—

MY DEAR EDITOR,—

You ask me to give you an account of how  
 I got so many votes. I hardly know myself  
 how I managed it.

After persis-  
 tently and re-  
 morselessly  
 bothering all my  
 friends and rela-  
 tions, some at  
 school, some not,  
 I was fortunate  
 enough to obtain  
 introductions to  
 one or two Head  
 Mistresses of girls'  
 schools, who not  
 only got me signa-  
 tures from their  
 own girls, but also  
 asked other Head  
 Mistresses to help  
 me.

I found a good  
 many girls were  
 most anxious to  
 vote for me instead  
 of Joan of Arc!  
 Others wished to  
 save me the trouble  
 of signing my  
 own name by sign-  
 ing it for me.

Out of the many  
 girls I asked to  
 help me, only one  
 girl refused. An-  
 other took three  
 weeks to get me  
 two signatures!

but I did not mind waiting for them.

My highest ambition at first was two  
 hundred votes, and even this I considered  
 more than I could attain. By degrees,  
 however, my aims grew loftier and I passed  
 my final goal of 3,000 on December 28,  
 1901.

A. MARY FIELD,

Figure 1. Harold McFarlane, diagram from “Our Voting Competition,”  
*Girl's Realm* 4 (March 1902): 449.





IF "THE GIRL'S REALM" GIRL COMBINED IN HERSELF THE 300,000 COUPON-WRITERS, HER APPEARANCE WHEN SHE STEPPED OFF THE COVER OF THE MAGAZINE AND, RAPIDLY ATTAINING THE HEIGHT OF 350 FEET, WALKED INTO TRAFALGAR SQUARE, WOULD BE SOMEWHAT STARTLING.

*The Nelson Column would fade into insignificance beside her. Her weight would be almost 13,000 tons.*

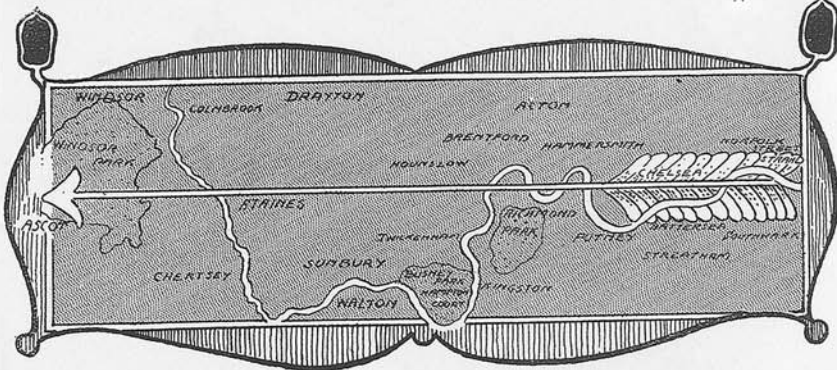
The following list is of the greatest interest, as it shows how the competitors (apart altogether from the additional votes they got from their friends) selected their favourite character:—

#### TOTAL OF GIRLS COMPETING, 2,876.

Favourite Character.	Votes.	Percentage.
Florence Nightingale .. ..	1180	which is 41.02
Grace Darling .. ..	651	" " 22.63
Joan of Arc .. ..	576	" " 20
Flora MacDonald ... ..	122	" " 4.24
Elizabeth Fry .. ..	81	" " 2.81
Alice Ayres .. ..	49	" " 1.70
Frances Mary Buss .. ..	38	" " 1.32
Lady Hallé .. ..	34	" " 1.18
Harriet Beecher Stowe .. ..	33	" " 1.14
Rosa Bonheur .. ..	32	" " 1.11
Jenny Lind .. ..	28	" " 0.97
Mrs. Siddons .. ..	21	" " 0.73
Elizabeth Barrett Browning .. ..	19	" " 0.66
Baroness Burdett-Coutts .. ..	12	" " 0.41

The following shows the total number of votes sent in (competitors' own votes as well as those they secured) for the different characters:—

Favourite Character.	Total Votes.
1. Florence Nightingale .. ..	120,776
2. Grace Darling .. ..	67,609
3. Joan of Arc .. ..	62,803
4. Flora MacDonald .. ..	11,947
5. Elizabeth Fry .. ..	7,504
6. Alice Ayres .. ..	5,103
7. Frances Mary Buss .. ..	6,142
8. Lady Hallé .. ..	4,064
9. Jenny Lind .. ..	3,941
10. Harriet Beecher Stowe .. ..	3,082
11. Rosa Bonheur .. ..	2,948
12. Mrs. Siddons .. ..	1,876
13. Elizabeth Barrett Browning .. ..	1,768
14. Baroness Burdett-Coutts .. ..	1,098



PLACED END TO END "THE GIRL'S REALM" COUPONS WOULD EXTEND IN A CONTINUOUS RIBBON FROM NORFOLK STREET, STRAND, TO ASCOT—A DISTANCE OF 23½ MILES.

Figure 2. Harold McFarlane, diagram from "Our Voting Competition," *Girl's Realm* 4 (March 1902): 448.

the sheer volume of contribution suggests that the competition did resonate powerfully with readers.

But A. Mary Field's letter also reveals an important area of conflict within the *Girl's Realm*. Highgate, where Mary lives, is an affluent area of London, and her description of "obtaining introductions" indicates that she is clearly a very well-connected girl. In fact, the majority of winners are London-based. This makes sense given that only girls with access to large numbers of other girls, as in a large city, stood a chance of winning. However, the urban identity of competition winners complicates the idealism of the competition's conclusions. More pointedly, the printed names and addresses reveal a great deal about the class-based exclusivity of the competition winners. One of the few winners from beyond London is listed as Alice O'Neill of Shane's Castle, County Antrim. Alice, the youngest daughter of Lord O'Neill, appears several times in the *Times Digital Archive*. Referred to as the Honourable Alice O'Neill, her bridesmaid duties are recorded on several occasions in the 1900s, as is the notice of her own engagement and wedding in 1911.<sup>43</sup> Born in 1886, she was fifteen years old when she entered "Our Voting Competition."<sup>44</sup>

Alice was not the only "honourable" reader of the *Girl's Realm*. A 1902 prize letter competition in "Our Readers' Own Realm," a feature discussed in more detail below, was won by the Hon. Lilian Henniker, aged twenty-one. In another winning entry to the "Realm" (this time a poem on the coronation), Lilian lists her address as Government House, Douglas, Isle of Man, which means that she can be confirmed as Hon. Lilian Bertha Aline Henniker-Major (1880–1959), daughter of the fifth Baron Henniker of Stratford-upon-Avon, who was also Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Man (1895–1902).<sup>45</sup> Lilian's letter reads not unlike the fictional conversation from the Christmas number discussed earlier. Addressing her friend Margery and describing the *Girl's Realm* as a "Perfect Magazine," Lilian writes, "I felt I should be a poor friend to you, Margery, if I did not introduce you to the magazine that has whiled away so many happy hours, and made me more worthy of your friendship."<sup>46</sup> The content of Lilian's prize-winning letter suggests that the voting competition was not an isolated instance of the *Girl's Realm* encouraging readers to promote the magazine, and notably there is again an emphasis on the magazine's ability to inspire camaraderie between girls. Yet the identification of historical readers such as A. Mary Field, Alice O'Neill, and Lilian Henniker helps us to read between the lines of the *Girl's Realm*'s idealised community, with its reported esprit de corps across class and circumstance and its dedication to "international social sisterhood." Girls such as Alice and Lilian are possible to track down due to their elevated social status and their subsequent appearance in court notices in the *Times* and *Burke's Peerage*. Such readers suggest that Marian Leslie's attempt to reconcile "ranks" of girls who



share the same “joy-snatching spirit of girlhood” across the class spectrum was motivated not just by a desire to create aspiration amongst readers but also by a very real awareness of the magazine’s diverse readership. Some *Girl’s Realm* readers were indeed “daughters of the millionaire,” while many others, who cannot be tracked down so easily, most probably led decidedly different lives. If girls like Mary, Alice, and Lillian are the likely winners of such competitions, the wide-ranging communal identity championed by the *Girl’s Realm* may only have been accessible to a select few.

### Class and the Ideal Reader

Looking more broadly at the *Girl’s Realm*, it might be argued that if questions of nationality are simplified in the formation of a reading community, then the issue of social class is not quite so easily accommodated. From the outset, the *Girl’s Realm* formed a “Guild of Good Service” in which readers were asked to consider those less fortunate than themselves. Corkran’s attempts to smooth over tensions between readers in her “Chat with the Girl of the Period” columns, however, demonstrate that the reading community was perhaps more fractured and artificial than she would have us believe, potentially containing both members of the guild and those in receipt of its assistance.<sup>47</sup> In an 1899 “Conduct Competition” described in Corkran’s “Chat” column, readers were asked to respond to the following moral quandary, which might have come straight out of a girls’ school story: “Whether you ought to denounce your friend who cheated for a competition for a Prize Scholarship, having been greatly tempted to do so by her poverty; her rival being a rich girl, also your friend.”<sup>48</sup> According to Corkran, the majority of competitors “adopted the straight course, [and] declared unqualified disapproval of the poor girl’s action.”<sup>49</sup> Yet there were also some voices of dissent. In a response Corkran deems to be “deplorable,” a reader named Clotilde B. writes, “All my sympathy goes with the poor girl. Rich girls should not compete for money prizes. It is not fair. . . . Poor girls are so terribly hampered all through life, and in everything they try for. I am poor myself and I know this.”<sup>50</sup> Clotilde’s words demonstrate the magazine reader’s significant ability to, in Beetham’s terms, “consent to or resist the writer’s designs upon them.”<sup>51</sup> Having printed examples of conflicting responses, Corkran makes a bid to restore order in the final paragraph of the article with the following words of caution: “Now, my dear girls, what has wealth or poverty to do with that essential thing—the right or wrong of an action? . . . [Clotilde,] and those of my readers who feel like [her], are allowing an envious sentiment to darken the light of duty by which alone they should be guided.”<sup>52</sup> Such correspondence, and the editorial attempt to resolve it, suggests that not all readers felt the magazine honoured its commitment to “girls of all classes and degrees.”<sup>53</sup>

Reading clubs and literary pages, which often call for reader interaction, are frequently locations of just such conflict. By intervening in and guiding the reading of girls, the *Girl's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Realm* attempted to increase the common ground between diverse readers and construct not just a girl reader but an ideal *Girl's Own Paper* or *Girl's Realm* reader. For example, James Mason's article, "How to Form a Small Library," published in the second volume of the *Girl's Own Paper*, asserts the importance of books for all growing girls. "A well chosen library," he explains, "growing larger every year, is an honourable part of a girl's history."<sup>54</sup> Mason incorporates the *Girl's Own Paper* itself into the creation of this honourable library, stating that "every girl should by this time have had the numbers or parts of the first volume of the *Girl's Own Paper* bound up, so that they do not become dirty and untidy-looking."<sup>55</sup> Mason's awareness of the diverse nature of his readership is indicated by his instructions as to the practicalities of purchasing fifty secondhand books and a bookcase—it is "understood" that expensive editions will be out of reach.<sup>56</sup> Alice Corkran initially tried to offer readers a reading club but found herself unable to sustain it following correspondence from readers. In a "Chat" column in the 1900–1901 volume, Corkran expresses regret over the need to disband the reading club due in part to the schoolwork of some girls but mainly because of the prohibitive cost involved for many readers.<sup>57</sup> This was an odd concession considering that in a previous issue she had reassured readers as to the cost and availability of books and had expressed a commitment to supplying information about cheap editions.<sup>58</sup> At moments like this, it seems that the *Girl's Realm's* investment in an image of universal girlhood across social classes is difficult to maintain.

In a similar vein, "Our Readers' Own Realm," a regular feature which showcased the essays and artwork of readers, purports to benefit those girls seeking to earn their bread with their pens. However, the only girls who could potentially benefit from this section were those with the leisure time to enter such competitions in the first place. The fact that many of the same names crop up across different issues suggests that the expansive community conjured up by the magazine's editor was perhaps more of a coterie. A key element of "Our Readers' Own Realm" was the publication of photographs of winners. Again, these images work in competing ways: they visibly instil a sense of a community amongst readers, but they also remind us that only readers of certain means could fully enter into that community. We can infer much about the magazine's position on class, and the competing ideologies within it, from the winning contributions chosen to be published in the "Realm." The editor explains that the section has "been started to give girls an opportunity of putting their work to the test of public and editorial criticism."<sup>59</sup> There seems to be some recognition here that writing, both fictional and journalistic, was a career option

desired by many middle-class girls facing financial uncertainty, whose concerns about future employment were often expressed in correspondence pages. More practical competitions, however, seem designed to appeal to the more leisured girl with the time and means to create objects such as the “exquisitely finished rug in cream material” which claimed first prize for Miss Louisa Fitness.<sup>60</sup>

This range of competitions on offer reflects the magazine’s diplomatic attempt to appeal to its broad audience of readers, to provide opportunity for those with the financial imperative to “earn their bread” by writing but also for those with the leisure time to pursue a range of artistic accomplishments. The essay competitions also seem designed to re-inscribe hierarchical social structures, calling upon girls to write from an assumed position of superiority to their subjects. One edition of the “Realm” published essays on the theme “Some Humble Folk I Have Met.” Gladys Harris, from Wales, who came in second, declares that the subjects of her study “belong to a class that is fast dying out, for the man is a peasant-farmer and cultivates his tiny bit of freehold land.”<sup>61</sup> Each essay attempts to capture the dialect of its subjects in an attempt to emphasise the quaint simplicity of their lives. By publishing these essays as the winners, as the ones for readers to emulate in future competitions, the reading community is assumed collectively to belong to a class very much apart from the “humble people” being observed. It is unfortunately impossible to discover if any unpublished entries to this competition took issue with the assumptions behind the essay title or if any such entries existed.

“Our Readers’ Own Realm” was not the only call for reader-generated content in the *Girl’s Realm*. Maud Rawson’s “What Girls Are Doing” column aimed to chronicle the activities and achievements of real girls. In this instance, modern girlhood with all of its possible achievement and aspiration is not officially constituted as being nationally or socially specific. Rather, Rawson states that “all, of any nationality whatsoever, who have by their brains, industry or heroism, made their mark, may be noted in this page, and so, I trust, make new friends in our readers.”<sup>62</sup> Under the auspices of this column, a variety of extraordinary activities undertaken by girls receive recognition, from publishing poetry collections and competing in sports to more dramatic moments of courage, such as saving someone from drowning and, in one case, preventing the suicide of a local man. It is interesting to note a key difference here between profiles of “notable women” and the work of real readers. Grace Darling aside, almost all other famous women referred to in these articles are “notable” for their intellectual, artistic, or philanthropic pursuits. Oddly, it is in the realm of the real girl readers that physical heroic valour, as we might expect to hear of in the adventure stories of H. Rider Haggard and G. A. Henty, is recognised as being possible for girls. “Girls in Peril,” an article featuring a

Longfellow epigraph extolling the virtues of "Heroic Womanhood," profiles a long list of "girls and women whose deeds of finest self-sacrifice and courage have passed almost into oblivion."<sup>63</sup> The article presents itself as invested with a certain responsibility to preserve these heroic acts for posterity, whether it be one woman facing certain drowning upon giving away her only life jacket or another saving a boy from being gored to death by a bull. The focus in such stories is upon the woman's self-sacrifice, thereby rendering her heroism ultimately another version of her naturally philanthropic womanliness, yet it is still striking that "real girls" are noted for their physical courage and daring in ways that celebratory biographies of "notable women" are not. Perhaps such profiles appeal more to the vicarious entertainment of readers, who may also be versed in the adventure stories of Haggard and Henty and wish to read of bravery exhibited by other girls.

These moments of real courage and adventure, however, do not always sit easily within the broader content of the magazine. Even though they make persuasive cases for the inclusion of "girls in peril" narratives, the authors of such articles display a certain level of anxiety about them nonetheless. Rawson's *Girl's Realm* article, "In Many Fields: Work Done by Girls of 1898," opens by asserting, "*Pour encourager les autres*. Let us be clear on that point."<sup>64</sup> Many school and college girls approached for the article apparently declined to be presented as figures of aspiration to others, much to Rawson's frustration. Her response reflects an anxiety that her intentions have been misconstrued; she advises readers that their concern "is in some senses very natural, and especially so where prompted by pure modesty. At the same time, others have fallen foul of the notion, seeing in it a desire to 'puff' girl-students, while boy-students, who distinguish themselves equally today and every day, are not accorded the same publicity. In gathering details for what I had desired to make a complete record, nothing was further from my mind than the idea of giving feminine achievement a quasi advertisement."<sup>65</sup> Rawson may baulk at the idea of the advertisement of girls' achievement, but it seems clear that this is exactly how such articles function within the narrative of the magazine, which emphasises aspiration and community spirit. The defensive insistence that the article is certainly not intended as a promotion of certain high-achieving girls may perhaps point towards a concern over how the magazine is perceived in the wider periodicals market. Within the *Girl's Own Paper* and the *Girl's Realm*, however, profiles of "real girls" are used to corroborate and sustain the ethos of aspiration, heroism, and community that was so crucial to their success.

Yet there is one final aspect of the "What Girls Are Doing" columns that might give pause to such conclusions. In many of the bound volumes of the *Girl's Realm* found in libraries and collections today, "What Girls Are

Doing,” together with “Our Readers’ Own Realm,” puzzles, competitions, correspondence, and sewing patterns are removed from their chronological order and collected together at the back of the volume. The same can be said for bound volumes of the *Girl’s Own Paper*. This is, of course, connected to the commercial factors of magazine publishing. Most of these volumes have survived because they were bound gift editions of the year’s issues which were sold at Christmas. These end-of-year products automatically excised more ephemeral elements such as advertisements, much to the chagrin of modern scholars. It was also possible for girls themselves to preserve their weekly or monthly issues in order to send them away for binding, but again conventionally certain elements were either removed or placed at the end: the guidelines to the *Girl’s Realm*’s voting competition even make a point of assuring such readers that “cutting out the coupon will not injure the volume” because the “page is not numbered.”<sup>66</sup> Despite this very practical explanation for the manner in which the volumes are bound, it is nonetheless interesting to reflect upon the effect of this excision on the material magazine to which we now have access.

Those sections of the magazines which most starkly worked to foster a sense of community amongst readers have been judged as somehow supplementary to the main body of the magazine, alongside ephemeral advertisements. Having been the apparent central focus of the magazine, these features have been distanced from what has been judged to be the “true” content and context of the magazine. However, just as advertisements are often now valued for their historical significance and insight into the consumer culture of the period, so too do these supplementary sections give us invaluable insight into the ways in which the contributions of real readers—be it through letters, competition entries, reports about their achievements, or records of their participation in reading clubs—interacted with, reflected, and sometimes challenged the wider aims and ideals of the commercial magazine.

Although in the *Girl’s Own Paper* and the *Girl’s Realm* girlhood is at times conceived as being nationally and socially contingent in ways that placed limitations and exclusions on certain readers, their strong appeal to community may have overshadowed such difficulties. Readers continued to participate, after all, and the existence of surviving copies of these periodicals in libraries across the world suggests that many readers felt strongly enough connected to them to preserve that virtual, textual community for many years to come. Magazines such as the *Girl’s Own Paper* and the *Girl’s Realm* demonstrate that texts marketed to the “daughters of today” often directly engaged with and contributed to wider debates about girls’ lives. In attempting to construct an ideal reader, these magazines frequently failed to reconcile competing ideologies of gender and modernity, class and nationality. The consequent fractures that appear within narratives featur-

ing the seemingly universal girl reveal a great deal about the roles played by social class, age, and nationality within these magazines and within larger attempts to define and characterise adolescence. It is often girls themselves who make such inconsistencies apparent.

By offering essay competitions and correspondence pages, conduct competitions and reader polls, these magazines called upon girls to participate in contemporary debates about their own girlhood. The extent to which editors were genuinely interested in garnering reader opinion is open to debate; certainly in features such as the *Girl's Realm's* "Voting Competition," commercial considerations most likely dominated. Nevertheless, such competitions established a platform from which readers could make their voices heard, in ways that sometimes markedly diverged from the editorial agenda of the magazine. Moreover, such competitions sometimes enable us to identify historical readers, such as Alice O'Neill. Such identifications can reveal a great deal about the potential discrepancy between idealised and actual readers, and point towards the richness of Victorian girls' magazines as resources for understanding the construction of girlhood in the late nineteenth century.

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## NOTES

1. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, 3.
2. Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, 138.
3. Mitchell, *The New Girl*, 25.
4. Doughty, "Introduction," 7. Indeed, in their recent *Victorian Periodicals Review* article, "'Learning What Real Work . . . Means': Ambivalent Attitudes Towards Employment in the *Girl's Own Paper*" (2010), Kristine Moruzi and Michelle Smith demonstrate the ways in which this integral ambivalence is determined along class lines.
5. Leslie, "All Sorts and Conditions of Girlhood," 43.
6. Peters, "Your Valentine from the Editor," 320. Peters's initial words are reprinted in this 1881 "Valentine" to readers, in which he oddly positions himself in a paternal yet quasi-romantic role. The quotation also forms the epigraph to Wendy Forrester's useful overview of the magazine's history and content: *Great-Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of the Girl's Own Paper 1880-1901*, 1.
7. Salmon, "What Girls Read," 520.
8. In "Feminine Bravery: The *Girl's Realm* (1898-1915) and the Second Boer War" (2009), Kristine Moruzi demonstrates how this modernity can be particularly witnessed in the magazine's engagement with the Second Boer War.

9. Tellingly, Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig note that the *Girl's Realm* became increasingly "conformist" as the First World War approached, possibly, they suggest, "in a desperate endeavour to increase flagging circulation." *You're a Brick, Angela!*, 91.
10. Rawson, "What Girls Are Doing," 530.
11. Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, 11.
12. "The Queen's Jubilee Prize Competition," 273.
13. *Ibid.*, 274.
14. *Ibid.*, 273. This broad age range for the period of adolescence seems rather unusual to the twenty-first-century reader, but it is reflected in magazines aiming at this readership throughout this period. *Atalanta's* "Scholarship and Reading Union," for example, was open to girls under twenty-five. The use of "girl" as a term that can be applied to the twelve-year-old correspondents of the *GOP* and also the thirty-year-old women targeted by, for example, the famous "Revolt of the Daughters" debate (1894) implies that marital status more than actual age may play a key role in the distinction between girlhood and womanhood. One of the things that differentiates girls' magazines from women's magazines, I would suggest, is their establishment of an implied reader who is most definitely unmarried and who is interested in reading about girls' schools and clubs and in placing herself amongst a community of other girls.
15. "The Queen's Jubilee Prize Competition," 273.
16. *Ibid.*, 273–74.
17. *Ibid.*, 273. Emphasis in original.
18. "The Queen's Jubilee Prize Competition," 692.
19. *Ibid.*, 274.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Watson, "On the Borderland," 65.
22. Praed, "A Daughter of Greater Britain," 249–53.
23. "The Queen's Jubilee Prize Competition," 693.
24. *Ibid.*, 692.
25. One can only imagine what an interesting resource the 920 manuscripts would now make for study. Searches through the Religious Tract Society papers held by the School of Oriental and African Studies in London suggest that no such material is extant today.
26. "The Queen's Jubilee Prize Competition," 692–93.
27. *Ibid.*, 693.
28. "A Grand Prize Competition," xii.
29. *Ibid.*
30. The guidelines state that "six prizes will be reserved for girls in India and the Colonies, who wish to enter this competition." "A Grand Prize Competition," xiii. The same rules applied, but the deadline was set as April 1902, instead of December 31, 1901.

31. "A Grand Prize Competition," xiii.
32. Ibid. The full list of fourteen possible voting options is as follows: Joan of Arc (fifteenth century, dubbed "The Inspired and Martyred 'Maid' of History"); Grace Darling (1815-42, famous lifeboat heroine); Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845, social reformer); Florence Nightingale (1820-1910, pioneering nurse); Flora MacDonald (1722-90, Jacobite heroine); Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-96, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*); Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906, philanthropist); Rosa Bonheur (1822-99, artist); Mrs. Siddons (1755-1831, actress); Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61, poet); Lady Hallé (1838-1911, noted violinist); Frances Mary Buss (1827-94, pioneering educationalist); Alice Ayres (1859-85, self-sacrificing nursemaid who saved three children from a burning building); and Jenny Lind (1820-87, singer). Interestingly, the guidelines also point out that the editor "has purposely left out of the list the names of our late beloved Queen, of Queen Alexandra, and members of the Royal family" because it is felt that readers' "natural feelings of personal loyalty and affection" would encourage them to vote for such royal figures instead of "these illustrious and deservedly loved ladies," xiii.
33. "Our Voting Competition, with diagrams by Harold McFarlane," 446.
34. Ibid., 449.
35. Ibid., 446.
36. "A Grand Prize Competition," xiii.
37. "A Grand Prize Competition," xxiv.
38. Ibid.
39. "Our Voting Competition," 449.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 448.
42. Ibid.
43. These duties are generally reported in the *Times's* court circular column or the marriage announcements column. Alice's attendance as a bridesmaid at the weddings of her siblings is recorded on January 22, 1902, and July 23, 1907. Her own engagement, to John Randall Parsons, is reported in the court circular on May 4, 1908.
44. My thanks to the present Lord O'Neill of Shane's Castle for meeting with me to discuss Alice, whom he knew as his Great Aunt Alli.
45. Mosley, *Burke's Peerage*, 1871. Stratford-upon-Avon is in County Warwick, Ireland. This baronetcy was just one of a number of titles held by Lilian's Eton-educated father, John Major Henniker-Major, Fifth Baron of Henniker (1842-1902).
46. "Our Readers' Own Realm," 1007.
47. Mitchell points out that in choosing this as the title of her editorial column, Corkran "assertively reclaimed the phrase Eliza Lynn Linton had used to castigate girls of the 1860s." *The New Girl*, 110.



48. Corkran, "Chat," 648.
49. Ibid. Lilian Henniker is again listed as a prize winner in this competition. In her response, Henniker asserts that she would not report the girl's conduct to the judges; rather, she would hope to appeal to the "moral courage" of her "poorer neighbour" in order to "teach her a lesson in straightforwardness, without being the bearer of unpleasant tales." "Result of Conduct Competition," 647.
50. Ibid.
51. Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own?*, ix.
52. Corkran, "Chat," 648.
53. Rawson, "What Girls Are Doing," 530.
54. Mason, "How to Form a Small Library," 7.
55. Ibid., 8.
56. Ibid.
57. Corkran, "Chat," 1006.
58. "Reading Union," 651.
59. This note runs underneath the banner to every "Readers' Own Realm," which runs three times a year.
60. "Our Readers' Own Realm," 683.
61. Ibid., 688.
62. Rawson, "What Girls Are Doing," 530.
63. Feist, "Girls in Peril," 625.
64. Rawson, "In Many Fields," 327. Emphasis in original.
65. Ibid.
66. "A Grand Prize Competition," xiii.

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